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Süddeutsche Zeitung

The German Tribune

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Will Thoughts of Chairman Mao outlive the man?

DIE WELT
UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

What first on the USSR? The truth will probably never be known but even at the time there were indications that Moscow had foreign and Peking domestic policy motives for the frontier incidents.

The ninth Chinese Communist Party congress, finally convened by the group around Mao Tse-tung, has brought confirmation of the suspected Chinese motives. The anti-Soviet campaign of recent weeks was intended to consolidate the party.

The congress is long overdue. According to the constitution delegates should have been elected in 1961 and meetings held once a year, but ever since the failure of the Great Leap Forward in 1959 the party has, so Peking's propaganda machine claims, been in the grips of a

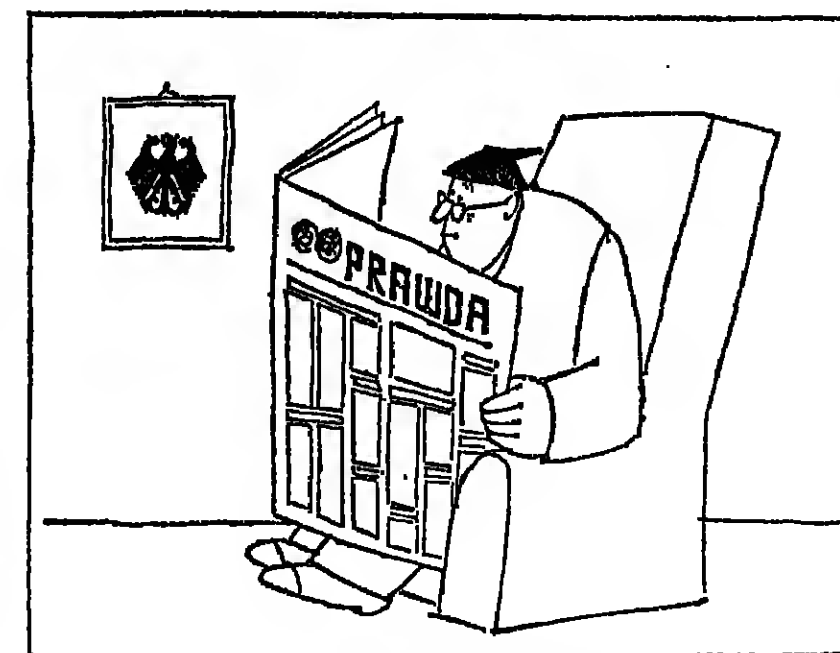
of the nine highest-ranking political commissars in the extremely important political department of the army have receded into the background. A mere eleven of the 38 commanders of regional and provincial general staffs are still approved by the propaganda machine.

With the power situation in the army as unclear as it is, there can be no saying with any certainty, however, whether the generals and officers who have faded into the background have in fact been cashiered. Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese Communist Party for 35 years, is now rendering account to the civilian wing of the party.

What kind of a gathering is the Peking congress? This group around Mao Tse-tung has definitely manipulated the selection of delegates. Similar methods were successfully employed at the crucial August 1966 meeting of the Central Committee, the session that led to the Cultural Revolution.

On that occasion revolutionary staff and students of Peking universities were present, the elite of the subsequent Red Guards. The present delegates consist, according to the communiques, of workers, peasants, soldiers, Red Guards and comrades of the party and the frontier guards with the services they have newly rendered — a referendum, no doubt, to the Soviet incidents.

According to the constitution the 1,512 delegates have to be elected but the Cultural Revolution has abolished the bound-



'They're slacking! Still no word of West German troops on the Ussuri!'
© 1969 WOLFF-PETERSEN ALLGEMEINE SONNTAGSZEITUNG

gens electoral system and replaced it by a kind of popular spontaneity along the lines of the Paris Commune.

Peking propaganda describes what this is supposed to mean in the following terms: "In the past the organs of power and their officials were voted into office. The new revolutionary organs of power were created in a revolutionary movement."

Delegates to the congress have been sent by the provincial and municipal revolutionary committees. In these committees power is exercised by staff offi-

cens and garrison commanders who run the country on a model military lines.

There is no way of telling how great the influence of ideological professional officers is in relation to the power of the political officers who head party committees. The party has, at any rate, survived in the army and its military wing is now to take on the reconstruction of the civilian machine.

The new constitution submitted to the congress is based entirely on personal loyalty to the person of Mao Tse-tung, a principle that is in line with the Mao-bation of the army vigorously undertaken by Defense Minister Lin Biao.

Members of the armed forces are to consider themselves no longer as soldiers of China but as disciples of Chairman Mao, not as defenders of the state but as bodyguards of the leader. In the party too loyalty is to be replaced by loyalty and the spirit of the law to give way to the spirit of camp followers.

In the event of Mao's death this loyalty to an individual reverts to his successor, Lin Biao. The enthroning of the crown prince, which at certain stages of the Cultural Revolution appeared to be its sole purpose, is anchored in the new party constitution — something entirely new for a Communist Party.

In the field of foreign policy the preamble to the new party constitution expressly states that the Chinese Communist Party will fight until the downfall of US imperialism and the revisionism led by the Soviet renegade clique. The rift between Peking and Moscow would thus seem to be final, at least as long as Mao lives.

Too much has happened in China in recent years for a new party constitution to be enough to iron out difficulties. In all probability the officials overthrown in the course of the Cultural Revolution are still alive and can be expected to plot revenge, even if all they manage is intrigue. Whether or not Mao Tse-tung has really won will not be clear until after his death.

Martin Schulze
[Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 April 1969]

Hans Wilhelm Vahlefeld
[DIE WELT, 1 April 1969]

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Life-and-death power and policy struggle. Communist as the Cultural Revolution this struggle came to a head.

For the time being Mao Tse-tung has won. The anti-Maoist, anti-party clique attacked by Chairman Mao and his disciples has been overthrown. The leader of this group was China's Khrushchev, President Liu Shao-chi.

After the purges and denunciation campaigns only 55 of the 172 Central Committee members were rated absolutely loyal to Mao by last summer. Twenty-three of the 29 quotifiers of the provincial committees have been dismissed and four of the First Secretaries of the six regional bureaux, which each control several provinces, have been stripped of their powers.

Purges in the armed forces have been equally thorough. Nine of the fourteen highest-ranking officers of the General Staff have sunk into oblivion and seven

Leaving aside for a moment the caution exercised by the two major communist powers, as evidenced by the Soviet Union's latest attempt to operate preferably through diplomatic channels, the frontier incidents on the Ussuri have triggered off real hate campaigns in both Russia and China, adding further rank to the hatred between the leading heirs of Lenin.

The Chinese appear to have become enamoured of the term "fascist" in describing their comrades in the Kremlin. In a commentary released by Hsinhua, the official New China news agency, Leonid Brezhnev's tenet of limited sovereignty for socialist states is classed as an out-and-out fascist theory that will stand up to comparison with the plans of Hitler and his former Japanese allies.

The occupation of Czechoslovakia is described as a coarse social-imperialist larceny, the authors of which bear fascist traits. The men in the Kremlin, it is argued, are neither Marxist-Leninists nor simply sinister bourgeois but a band of rabid social-fascist brigands.

Mao's lunatic cannibals sling mud at rabid Soviet brigands

Soviet propaganda has not taken these accusations lying down. Ogonyok, a high-circulation illustrated weekly, calls Mao a liar who is prepared to massacre millions of people. The interpretation of Chinese indignation provided by Ogonyok is also of a very low order even by Soviet propaganda standards.

hills of Mao, the self-appointed supreme leader, have put a spell on millions of Chinese. Let Chinese die, let millions of people of other nationalities be massacred in order that the mad ideas of the Chinese leader may triumph! The Soviet magazine declaims.

But Ogonyok consoles Soviet readers with the thought that "this lunacy, this disastrous idea means first and foremost the downfall of the Mao clique and the entire servile mob intoxicated by Maoism."

These are strong words. They are also examples of the irrationality of politicians who have always claimed a monopoly of political reason in the form of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Twenty-year-old Nato still a going concern

PASSIVE ROLE DISAPPOINTS MANY YOUNG PEOPLE

Successes are not to be found in the twenty-year history of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation but in any chronology the entry following 4 April 1949, the day on which Nato was established, lists under 9 May 1949 the end of the blockade of West Berlin launched by the Soviet Union in June 1948.

It has to be credited to the Atlantic alliance set up in Washington a few weeks previously it was certainly the first and last time in the history of the West's major defence agreement that the opposition has withdrawn from a position already held.

In all other respects Nato has been able to do no more than maintain the status quo and ensure that the Soviet Union does not gain ground in Europe. This, then, is what Nato has achieved and in so doing it has successfully performed the function assigned to it in 1948.

The North Atlantic pact, a politically organised defence alliance with the emphasis on defence, has for twenty years borne out the efficacy of the mutual support pledge contained in Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty.

Not everyone in this country will or can be satisfied with the achievement. One calculation made and effectively publicised by supporters of Nato in this country in the early fifties has not come about. The past twenty years have shown that Nato and this country's membership of it, provide security from attack though it may, has not brought Germany one iota nearer reunification.

In a few months' time a man who realised twenty years ago that this would be the case and resigned from Konrad Adenauer's first Cabinet in protest is to take over as Federal President, while the Federal government has scaled down its wishes and expectations to the function of the Atlantic alliance in a position to perform.

Only a few days ago the Foreign Minister emphasised in a Bundestag speech on European security how important the declarations by the Western powers refuting the propagandist claims of the Soviet Union to a right to intervene in this country on the strength of Articles 53 and 107 of the UN Charter are for this country.

These declarations represent an additional direct guarantee, over and above Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, of the inviolability of West Germany and West Berlin territory. They must, Herr Brandt commented, be nailed down.

Podgorny woos Boumedienne

Nikolai Podgorny left Algiers at the end of a six-day visit relieved, he said on leaving, "because we have been convinced on the spot that the Algerian government is determined to take the country to socialism."

It remains to be seen whether Algeria's road to socialism under the leadership of Colonel Boumedienne's revolutionary Liberation Army and the political evolution of North Africa will continue to give rise to such sentiments in far-off Moscow. "The best of luck to the pair of them," General de Gaulle commented some years ago in answer to the question whether or not he was afraid that after France's withdrawal from North Africa the Americans or the Russians might try to gain a foothold there.

The Americans have lost the fight for political influence and economic weight in Algeria even though they indirectly supported and certainly encouraged the FLN in its struggle for independence from France.

(DIE WELT, 2 April 1969)

on the contribution made by the European countries themselves.

The extent to which the European countries achieve their other ambition of being consulted by America before the USA begins its strategic dialogue with the Soviet Union or comes to decisions will depend to no small degree on the success Europe has in gaining a hearing for its views in Washington.

Belgian Foreign Minister Pierre Harmel whose plan for political activation of Nato as an instrument of Western détente policy has been temporarily postponed but by no means shelved, recently mentioned the restraint of nationalist undercurrents in Europe as a subsidiary role for the alliance.

This role, which Nato could play on its own doorstep, so to say, is certainly a problem of which the solution would represent a move in the direction of the aim of the alliance, détente on the basis of security and solidarity.

Europe is not the only sick man of Nato

Even so, it would be a mistake to assume that Europe is the only sick man of Nato. At home Canada's attitude towards the alliance is no longer uniform and a recent visit to Stockholm made by a number of Canadian politicians shows at the very least that certain circles in Ottawa have a lively interest in a more independent course.

As it is there remains the tribute to thinking in terms of power, a habit that all alliances have, and at the same time the bitter realisation that Nato's southern flank is exposed to twofold danger — danger from within too.

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Greece and its fascist system are continually criticised, and rightly so, by young people but in many cases this criticism is accompanied by encouraging undertones of disappointment with an alliance that for the past twenty years has succeeded in preserving, maintaining and defending the existing situation but has done nothing to improve society and the political situation.

As Nato enters its third decade the governments of its fifteen member-countries would do well to heed this criticism.

Arnulf Hilla

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 April 1969)

The German Tribune

PUBLISHER:
Friedrich ReinckeEDITOR-IN-CHIEF:
Eberhard WagnerASSISTANT EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:
Otto HefnerENGLISH LANGUAGE SUB-EDITOR:
Gordon PennyGENERAL MANAGER:
Hans Pehleke

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(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 2 April 1969)

HOME AFFAIRS

Political party youth groups get out of hand

WEHNER WORRIED BY YOUNG SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' VEER TOWARDS SDS

think that a new life is beginning with them at scratch.

Nevertheless, the truth is that pragmatic reasoning, laboriously mastered by grandfathers and fathers in the bloody collapse of ideologies, is being disregarded by a large proportion of young people today. The familiar German trait of dreaming of the consuming, all-embracing idea which is the birth of a new world is breaking through again.

What used to be philosophy is today sociology. What was once a romantic flight into the forest from the slavery of a working world dominated by capitalism is today the no less romantic flight into universality and in city centres.

It used to be minorities, and it still is small minorities, that make life difficult for political parties. In the twenties the attribute "young" was carried like a triumphant banner through the streets of Germany. Young Germans, Young Social-



lists, Young Conservatives, Young Liberals — Young everything was hailed.

Young blood revolted in the parties, reformed them or split them, as happened in the German National People's Party. Extra-parliamentary groups of young people opposing the party, opposing parliamentary democracy — that was the final phase of a youth cult which petered out with Hitler and his youth movement, with the ruin of Germany, with expulsion, bombing and economic chaos.

What has formed two generations, what has moulded young Bundestag members in thought and action, is bookish history for young people now marching the streets. No inducements, persuasion or resentful outbursts can change this.

It cannot be said of course of young people generally that they are totally lacking in respect, that they are again thinking in ideological terms, agitating the present and its institutions. It cannot be denied, however, that the most active group of young dissidents today is tending in this direction. Many of its members are as brutal in their approach as the militant communists and the SA of the twenties.

Among the parties, the SPD seems to have the most trying time at present with the phenomenon of its restless youth. But Foreign Minister Willy Brandt and Otto Brenner, chairman of the metalworkers' union, who also turned in their youth from the SPD to extreme left-wing splinter parties, cannot really be dismayed at this trend. Parliamentary leader Helmut Schmidt and Justice Minister Hans Eicke have more reason to be genuinely surprised. After the war they were both chairmen of the Socialist Student League (SSB).

Let us make no mistake, it would be a heavy blow to the future of this country if its politically committed youth turned its back for the second time on the demo-

cratic parties. This would be doubly dangerous for the Social Democratic Party because — whatever the rebels have in mind — in the awareness of the adults of tomorrow a rift would again appear between the working and the academic communities.

In the generation of today's forty- to fifty-year-olds this rift has been our-eranted for the first time on a broad scale in the Social Democratic Party. This unity is now at stake. This explains why a man like Herbert Wehner, the Minister of All-German Affairs, should be worried lest the Social Democratic University League lose itself in radical utopian thought, as the SDS has done.

What can the parties do? To begin with, it is vital that they resist more energetically than hitherto the ageing process in party leadership. It is assumed that one third of Bundestag members will not return to Bonn. With much tactical skill and equally determined elbows Junge Union, the youth section of the Christian Democrats, is now vigorously pushing its candidates to the fore — 28-year-old candidates who have moved in on the constableness of Eugen Gerstenmaier and Theodor Blank.

This is a welcome, not an alarming development. Young politicians who enter the Bundestag next autumn will find it much easier to carry through the much-needed reforms.

Equally essential is that the older generation of politicians must be convinced that nothing is to be gained by thundering at the young rebels, and even less is to be gained by carrying their favour. These young people have the right to live their lives according to their own lights. This right, however, should bring home to them that they cannot expect their elders and especially not the state to finance their revolts.

They have the right to make their own mistakes, but the elders also have the right to crack down hard on them when it is clear that these mistakes endanger the nation.

Georg Schröder
(DIE WELT, 21 March 1969)

A profile of Heinz Oskar Vetter, DGB chairman-designate

Just five hours after Kurt Gscheidle withdrew his candidature for the chairmanship of the Federation of Trade Unions (DGB) and left the house, a new candidate was facing the television cameras, Heinz Oskar Vetter, 51, has been nominated to head the DGB after the departure of Ludwig Rosenberg.

In Vetter, assistant general secretary of the miners' union, a candidate was quickly

bury a delegate of IG Bergbau, since 1952, Heinz Oskar Vetter has been secretary of his union.

Following his appointment to the board of the miners' union in 1960 he was elected assistant general secretary in 1964. Vetter, who is a member of the SPD, has been president of the miners' trade association since 1962.

Vetter is also a member of the social affairs committee of the Protestant Church. Since 1964 he has been a member of the Economic and Social Affairs Committee of the European Economic Community. He is also a member of the supervisory board of the new Ruhr AG, comprising most Ruhr mining companies, as well as being a supervisory board member of the Ruhr Festival in Dortmund.

(Hannoversche Presse, 2 April 1969)
(Photo: dpa)



found whom even delegates to the meeting had not thought of previously. The nomination of Walter Arendt, Vetter's superior at IG Bergbau and Energie, was thought more probable.

Heinz Oskar Vetter, who was little known until now beyond his own circle, has entered the DGB limelight. He was born in 1917 in Bochum. On leaving primary school he was trained as a fitter. Thereafter he completed secondary school.

From 1939 to 1946 Vetter was in the army, which he left with the rank of officer. On his return from a prisoner of war camp he worked from 1946 to 1949 as a mechanic for the Bergbau AG, Dortmund.

About this time Vetter joined IG Bergbau and was soon appointed spokesman. From 1949 to 1951 he attended the Academy of Economics and Politics in Han-

Until recently, the proverbial man in the street believed that the Federation of Trade Unions (DGB) was a homogeneous and balanced organisation. The DGB was thought to wield great influence, if not power.

That Otto Brenner, chairman of the largest single trade union in the DGB, the metalworkers' union, enjoyed a special position among the fifteen other chairmen was also well known. But no one thought it would be possible for one union leader to bring the entire organisation of the DGB into such a difficult predicament as came about a few days ago.

The Gscheidle incident opened many people's eyes. It showed that the existence of the DGB as a central organisation is derived and accordingly dependent on the will of its strong member unions, especially on the metalworkers' union.

Kurt Gscheidle, since January nominated as Ludwig Rosenbergs successor, wanted to know where he stood. He wrote to Otto Brenner asking him whether the metalworkers' union, IG Metall, intended to support his recommendation for a reform of the DGB. If not, he would refuse the nomination.

Brenner ignored the ultimatum, and Gscheidle refused to withdraw or revise it. Soon afterwards the Federal executive nominated another candidate.

The new front-runner is Heinz Oskar Vetter from the IG Bergbau and Energie

Kurt Gscheidle's demonstrative withdrawal

representing workers in the mining and fuel and power industries. After his nomination Vetter said he did not intend to raise the subject of DGB reform at present, although he was aware that it must remain on the agenda.

After the hither and thither about an alternative candidate, this was easily said surely. With his refusal to accept the nomination, Gscheidle focused attention on the organisational problems of the unions and brought these problems one step nearer to a solution.

This is in itself commendable. For, thus far the sensitive topic of reform had simmered invisibly below the surface. It is to be expected that reform proposals will be discussed if not at the next Federal congress of the DGB, scheduled to be held in Munich at the end of May, then surely at an extraordinary convention in the near future.

It is of course gratifying and reassuring to know that this country's trade unions are more organised than many of their foreign counterparts. Many of them are also indifferent to greater union orga-

nisation lest the unions become, as it were, too big for their boots.

Those who affirm the need for trade unions, however, cannot be totally indifferent to how the workers' representatives are organised. In this country the most widely adopted principle of industrial unions corresponds most closely with the system of democratic pluralism that has developed since the Second World War.

The trade union as the interlocutor of the employers' association and of the government within the framework of Dr Schiller's Concerted Action; the union as a member of various self-administrative organs of public security — this demands coordinated action on the part of the organisation.

This includes, logically, a coordinated political and economic programme, and also an organisational system that permits such coordination. It is this that is at present lacking in the DGB.

A federation of trade unions need not be a monolithic bloc. But considerations of efficiency suggest that at least part of a union's much-exalted autonomy should be abandoned in the interests of the unions generally.

It is not enough for the IG Metall to be strong and its members, have much to offer.

Eberhard Storost
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 2 April 1969)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Twenty-year-old Nato still a going concern

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It thus can be credited to the Atlantic alliance set up in Washington a few weeks previously it was certainly the first and last time in the history of the West's major defence agreement that the opposition has withdrawn from a position already held.

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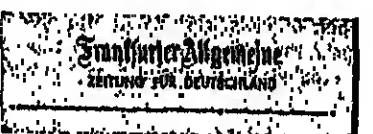
The Foreign Minister's concern is particularly justified from now on. As of 4 April every member country of Nato is entitled to give a year's notice to quit the alliance both politically and militarily. For this country, the security of which is, in Willy Brandt's words, dependent on the existence of the Atlantic alliance, this prospect is a depressing one.

Nato itself is hardly affected by pessimism of this kind despite the fact that any member can now resign at a year's notice. The impression created by Nato headquarters, near Brussels, is that of a going concern.

Force of routine does, of course, keep doubting politicians and military men on the move and leaves them no time to make a critical analysis of the future of Nato. Nato's product is security and its facilities and machinery are gigantic. The wheels would keep on turning for a while even if the political impetus came to a sudden halt.

Yet wherever the observer looks at Nato HQ, in office after office and conference room after conference room, planning, projects already commenced, na-

Mao party congress will give Moscow food for thought



Seventeen, eleven and thirteen years have elapsed between past congresses of the Chinese Communist Party, the ninth of which has just begun in Peking. Time lapse of this order ensure that there cannot be any question of continuity, as in the case with Western Communist Party congresses.

At every Chinese CP congress the party is different, particularly now that the

national and international agreements at medium and lower levels and above all Nato's joint finance programmes extend well on into the alliance's third decade. There can be no doubt whatsoever that Nato will outlive its first twenty-year term.

European Nato members, who consider themselves to be the most militarily endangered (with increasingly less justification, incidentally, as the atomic age progresses), have reason to hope that their vital interests will be safeguarded.

The United States will continue to station an "appropriate" number of troops in Europe, their strength partly depending

Europe is not the only sick man of Nato

Even so, it would be a mistake to assume that Europe is the only sick man of Nato. At home Canada's attitude towards the alliance is no longer uniform and a recent visit to Stockholm made by a number of Canadian politicians shows at the very least that certain circles in Ottawa have a lively interest in a more independent course.

Last but not least there is Greece, a problem that military men in this country and elsewhere tend to play down with a frown. Nato prefers to dismiss it by claim-

ing no right to intervene in the domestic affairs of a sovereign alliance member.

This is formally true, of course, but Nato could bring pressure to bear on the powers that be in Athens with a lighter heart if only the Mediterranean had not of late increasingly become a hub of East-West strategic interests.

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Arnold Hillie
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 April 1968)

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PUBLISHER:

Friedrich Reincke

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:

Eberhard Wagner

ASSISTANT EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:

Otto Hufsch

ENGLISH LANGUAGE SUB-EDITOR:

Geoffrey Peony

GENERAL MANAGER:

Hans Peter-Ka

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Young people and prominent politicians heavily speak the same language any more. So said Hans Apel, 37-year-old Social Democrat, and no one denies contradicted him.

For the second time in recent weeks the Social Democrats are having trouble with their student organisation. The Free Democrats seem to have given up hope of ever surmounting the embarrassing provocations of the Liberal Student League.

The Christian Democratic Student Ring is causing at least the older members of the Christian Democratic Union to fear the stirrings of disobedience within their own ranks. Add to this the flurry over the Association of Student Unions whose agents the Federal government has now withdrawn because of alleged revolutionary attitudes.

Is this any reason to get the political jitters? Must we look gloomily to the future because of these disturbances? Before our eyes a development is unfolding in which the grandchildren are not, as they once did, learning a pact with the grandfathers against the others. Instead, they are endeavouring to repeat the youthful sins of the grandfathers in their own way.

This is a statement that young people in revolt might not very readily accept. As with every young generation, they

think that a new life is beginning with them at scratch.

Nevertheless, the truth is that pragmatic reasoning, laboriously mastered by grandfathers and fathers in the bloody college of ideologies, is being disregarded by a large proportion of young people today. The familiar German trait of dreaming of the consoling, all-embracing idea which is the birth of a new world is breaking through again.

What used to be philosophy is today sociology. What was once a romantic flight into the forest from the slavery of a working world dominated by capitalism is today the no less romantic flight into a protest world, with fiery demonstrations in universities and in city centres.

It used to be minorities, and it still is small minorities, that make life difficult for political parties. In the twenties the tribune "young" was carried like a triumphant banner through the streets of Germany. Young Germans, Young Social-



ists, Young Conservatives, Young Liberals — Young everything was hailed.

Young blood reared in the parties, reformed them or split them, as happened in the German National People's Party. Extra-parliamentary groups of young people opposing the party, opposing parliamentary democracy — that was the final phase of a youth cult which petered out with Hitler and his youth movement, with the ruin of Germany, with expulsion, bombing and economic chaos.

What has formed two generations, what has moulded young Bundestag members in thought and action, is bookish history for young people now marching the streets. No inducements, persuasion or resolute outbursts can change this.

It cannot be said of course of young people generally that they are totally lacking in respect, that they are again thinking in ideological terms, negating the present and its institutions. It cannot be denied, however, that the most active group of young dissidents today is tending in this direction. Many of its members are as brutal in their approach as the militant communists and the SA of the twenties.

Among the parties, the SPD seems to have the most trying time at present with the phenomenon of its restless youth. But Foreign Minister Willy Brandt and Otto Brenner, chairman of the metalworkers' union, who also turned in their youth from the SPD to extreme left-wing splinter parties, cannot really be dismayed by this unrest. Parliamentary leader Robert Schmidt and Justice Minister Hans Eysenbach have more reason to be genuinely surprised. After the war they were both chairmen of the Socialist Student League (SDS).

Let us make no mistake, it would be a heavy blow to the future of this country if its youthful committed youth turned its back for the second time on the demo-

cratic parties. This would be doubly dangerous for the Social Democratic Party because — whatever the rebels have in mind — in the awareness of the adults of tomorrow a rift would again appear between the working and the academic communities.

In the generation of today's forty- to fifty-year-olds this rift has been surmounted for the first time on a broad scale in the Social Democratic Party. This unity is now at stake. This explains why a man like Herbert Wehner, the Minister of All-German Affairs, should be worried lest the Social Democratic University League lose itself in radical utopian thought, as the SDS has done.

What can the parties do? To begin with, it is vital that they resist more energetically than hitherto the egoing process in party leadership. It is assumed that one third of Bundestag members will not return to Bonn. With much tactical skill and equally determined blows Junge Union, the youth section of the Christian Democrats, is now vigorously pushing its candidates to the fore — 28-year-old candidates who have moved in on the consiliencies of Eugen Gerstenmaier and Theodor Blank.

This is a welcome, not an alarming development. Young politicians who enter the Bundestag next autumn will find it much easier to carry through the much-needed reforms.

Equally essential is that the older generation of politicians must be convinced that nothing is to be gained by floundering at the young rebels, and even less to be gained by carrying their favour. These young people have the right to live their lives according to their own lights. This right, however, should bring home to them that they cannot expect their elders and especially not the state to finance their revivals.

They have the right to make their own mistakes, but the adults also have the right to crack down hard on them when it is clear that these mistakes outlive the nation.

Georg Schröder
(DIE WELT, 20 April 1968)

A profile of Heinz Oskar Vetter, DGB chairman-designate

Just five hours after Kurt Gscheidle withdrew his candidature for the chairmanship of the Federation of Trade Unions (DGB) and left the house, a new candidate was facing the television cameras. Heinz Oskar Vetter, 51, has been nominated to head the DGB after the departure of Ludwig Rosenberg.

In Vetter, assistant general secretary of the unions' union, a candidate was quickly



burg as a delegate of IG Bergbau. Since 1952, Heinz Oskar Vetter has been secretary of his union.

Following his appointment to the board of the miners' union in 1960 he was elected assistant general secretary in 1964. Vetter, who is a member of the SPD, has been president of the miners' trade association since 1963.

Vetter is also a member of the church affairs committee of the Protestant Church. Since 1961 he has been a member of the Economic and Social Affairs Committee of the European Economic Community. He is also a member of the supervisory board of the new Ruhr AG, comprising most Ruhr mining companies, as well as being a supervisory board member of the Ruhr Festival in Datteln-Bochum.

Hannoversche Presse, 2 April 1968
(Photo: dpa)

Until recently, the proverbial man in the street believed that the Federation of Trade Unions (DGB) was a homogeneous and balanced organisation. The DGB was thought to wield great influence, if not power.

That Otto Brenner, chairman of the largest single trade union in the DGB, the metalworkers' union, enjoyed a special position among the fifteen other chairmen was also well known. But no one thought it would be possible for one union leader to bring the entire organisation of the DGB into such a difficult predicament as came about a few days ago.

The Gscheidle incident opened many people's eyes. It showed that the existence of the DGB as a central organisation to derive and accordingly dependent on the will of its strong member unions, especially on the metalworkers' union.

Kurt Gscheidle, since January nominated as Ludwig Rosenberg's successor, wanted to know where he stood. He wrote to Otto Brenner asking him whether the metalworkers' union, IG Metall, intended to support his recommendations for a reform of the DGB. If not, he would refuse the nomination.

Brenner ignored the ultimatum, and Gscheidle refused to withdraw or revise it. Soon afterwards a new Federal executive nominated another candidate.

The new front-runner is Heinz Oskar Vetter from the IG Bergbau and Energie

Kurt Gscheidle's demonstrative withdrawal

representing workers in the mining and fuel and power industries. After his nomination Vetter said he did not intend to raise the subject of DGB reform at present, although he was aware that it must remain on the agenda.

After the hither and thither about an alternative candidate, this was easily said surely. With his refusal to accept the nomination, Gscheidle focused attention on the organisational problems of the unions and brought those problems one step nearer to a solution.

TDS is in itself commendable. For, thus far the sensitive topic of reform had slumbered invisibly below the surface. It is to be expected that reform proposals will be discussed if not at the next Federal congress of the DGB, scheduled to be held in Munich at the end of May, then surely at an extraordinary convention in the near future.

It is of course gratifying and reassuring to know that this country's trade unions are more committed than many of their foreign counterparts. They may also be indifferent to greater union orga-

nisations test the unions become, as it were, too big for their boots.

Those who affirm the need for trade unions, however, cannot be totally indifferent to how the workers' representatives are organised. In this country the most widely adopted principle of industrial unionism corresponds most closely with the system of democratic pluralism that has developed since the Second World War.

The trade union as the interlocutor of the employers' association and of the government within the framework of Dr Schiller's Concerted Action; the union as a member of various self-administrative organs of public security — this demands coordinated action on the part of the organisation.

This includes, logically, a coordinated political and economic programme, and also an organisational system that permits such coordination. It is this that is at present lacking in the DGB.

A federation of trade unions need not be a monolithic bloc. But considerations of efficiency suggest that at least part of a union's much-exalted autonomy should be abandoned in the interests of the unions generally.

It is not enough for the IG Metall to be strong and its members, have much to offer.

Eberhard Storz
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 April 1968)

POLITICAL BOOKS

A new look at the causes of the First World War

Peter Graf Kielmannsegg: *Deutschland und der Erste Weltkrieg* [Germany and the First World War] published by Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, Frankfurt am Main, 753 pages plus eleven maps, 59 Marks.

Ever since Fritz Fischer published his controversial book on the Kaiser's war policy in the early sixties, in which he put forward the view that the German government had been systematically preparing for a world war at least since 1913, this has been a hotly debated topic.

Wolfgang Mommsen replied to Fischer, Hermann Geiss defended his teacher's theories, Fischer reiterated his views and was contradicted by Egon Zechlin and so on. When virtually all historians in this country had committed themselves to one or other viewpoint, it seemed high time for someone to discuss the varying opinions.

Peter Graf Kielmannsegg, son of the General and former Navy commander and Luftwaffe pilot, tackles this task in his comprehensive book. However, he does not simply present the views already expressed but attempts to draw his own conclusions.

Without any prejudices, he frankly investigates all the disputed issues. These include, in particular, the significance of German policy during the so-called July crisis of 1914. Whereas other historians — according to their standpoint — were inclined to accuse German politicians of being responsible for subsequent developments because they allowed Vienna a free hand, or to maintain that they had remained true to the alliance through the 5 July decision, Kielmannsegg does not make things so easy for himself when discussing the events of those days and weeks.

He agrees that the policy towards Austria decided upon by the Kaiser's privy council at Potsdam was largely responsible for the following train of events but he does not immediately go on to distribute blame and responsibility for the outbreak of war. He first investigates the reasons why the Kaiser and Chancellor adopted this attitude.

Kielmannsegg is probably not wrong when he takes Wilhelm II's anger over the Sarajevo murders to be the decisive

motive. The Kaiser thought that the Russian court would automatically take the same attitude as he did to the assassinations and would not tolerate such action.

If Wilhelm II was largely guided by naive, romantic ideas about international solidarity between princes, then Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg — according to the author's plausible interpretation — decided to allow Austria-Hungary a free hand in the Balkans for various reasons.

One of the Chancellor's considerations was his growing anxiety over the threatening development of Russian military strength; Russia's manpower reserve was large enough to match all military preparations on the part of Central European powers.

Russia's strength contrasted with the increasingly obvious decline of the Austro-Hungarian empire and this exaggerated Bethmann-Hollweg's fear that during the next few years Germany might be in a position of hopeless inferiority compared with the Entente powers allied in Moscow.

The Chancellor felt that his — as is now known — unjustified fears about the future of the Reich were confirmed by the pessimistic view of von Moltke, the Chief of the General Staff.

Moltke, misjudging the reality of the situation — as Kielmannsegg rightly states — was firmly convinced that at the latest by 1917 the annihilation of Russia, which was mainly financed by French funds, would put the German Reich in a militarily impossible position. At this point he expected Russia and the Entente powers to attack Germany, thus involving the country in a multi-front war which it could not have won; so in 1914 Moltke thought that a preventive war would be justifiable.

It was in the context of these considerations that Moltke commented that the Sarajevo assassination was in fact a god-send for Germany. Kielmannsegg is right not to attach subjective, ethical interpretations to this ambiguous statement, but to regard it as an expression of the military leader's concern for the security of his country. Moltke was in fact anything but an irresponsible visionary and

Bethmann-Hollweg could not remain indifferent to the views of the Chief of the General Staff even if he did not regard the situation so pessimistically as Moltke. The Chancellor was also anxious about the survival of Germany as a major power, should the balance of power in Europe shift more and more in favour of the Entente and any diplomatic confrontation end with the defeat of the Reich.

Experiences at the Algeiras conference, at which an utterly isolated Germany faced the solid front of the Entente powers, gave the Chancellor's fears a certain plausible background. Looked at more closely these fears prove unjustifiable because the situation in 1914 was not at all as Bethmann-Hollweg saw it.

Kielmannsegg makes this point. Nonetheless, it must be admitted that the Chancellor was being realistic when for the time being he saw no practicable alternative to the Austrian alliance. His main concern was to maintain Austria's position as a major power of its own.

But he thought this position would be seriously endangered if the aggressive attack by the Serbs on the House of Habsburg through the Sarajevo murder was not energetically answered. Berlin thought that successful military action against Serbia by Austria would also strengthen the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and its position in South-east Europe.

In this respect Bethmann-Hollweg was in fact in agreement with his predecessor Bismarck whose policy vis-à-vis the dual monarchy was intended to have a stabilising effect in the Balkan area. Though Bismarck would not have let things get to the stage of a terrible choice between allowing further deterioration of Germany's international standing or risking a general war.

Anyway, Bethmann-Hollweg thought that he had to pursue an offensive tactic. Should war break out, he hoped various possibilities would be open to him which seemed preferable to doing nothing and merely waiting.

Kielmannsegg discusses the Chancellor's expectations and what he anticipated the reactions of France and Britain would be. The analysis of Bethmann-Hollweg's thoughts, hopes and fears leads him to the acceptable conclusion that the German "Yes" to action against Serbia should not be interpreted as a decision to unleash a European war.

Kielmannsegg says that the decision taken on 5 July 1914 "was not a deliberate decision to cause war." Here he contradicts Fischer's opinion but without putting forward the old thesis of Germany's relative innocence over the outbreak of war.

Instead of apportioning blame, he points out that the conviction that war was a legitimate political weapon was just as common in Berlin as it was in Moscow, London or Paris and that in those days every major European power was prepared to risk military involvement in defence of its vital interests. Looking at the events of the days and weeks preceding 1 August 1914, Kielmannsegg's interpretations cannot be disputed.

The author approaches the controversial subject of German war aims with the same thorough circumspection and on eye for complicated circumstances, which make it easier for the reader to accept his views and conclusions on the subject of war guilt.

He points out that the Allies, like the Central European powers, were determined to prolong the war until the enemy had collapsed. The difference between the German, at times far-reaching, war aims and the Allies' more moderate objectives consisted — according to Kielmannsegg — partly in the fact that the German

plans remained unfulfilled whilst the Allies' aims were modified to the terms of the Paris agreements and hence had a decisive influence on the post-war order.

In addition, to a far greater extent than Germany the Western powers had succeeded in hardening their determination to win the war even at the price of supreme sacrifice in the eyes of the public. They proclaimed that they were fighting for political progress, for democracy, for the preservation of rights in the intercourse between peoples, against exploitation of the weak and for the right to self-determination.

Germany had nothing to set against this ideological warfare. In fact Kielmannsegg says that Germany did not appreciate its importance. These facts explain why, without distorting history, German war aims can be presented simply as a bid for world domination.

Kielmannsegg should be thanked for investigating the real background to the war policies of both sides and producing a fairly justifiable evaluation of the facts. The same applies to the other issues dealt with in the book: the willingness of both sides to conclude a peace treaty, unrestricted U-boat warfare and whether or not it would have been possible and sensible to continue resistance after November 1918. This book can therefore be recommended to all those who are interested in history.

Alfred Schickel
Frankfurt, Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 22 March 1969

A German view of the UN war crimes convention

Hendrik G. van Damm: *Die Unvergleichbarkeit des Völkermordes. Die UNO Konvention vom 27.11.1948* published by Hans & Kehler Verlag, Mainz, 87 pages, 4.80 Marks.

In this study the author has set himself the task of examining the aims, origins and imperfections of the 1948 UN convention stating that war crimes and crimes against humanity should not be subject to a term of limitation and of investigating the relationship between the convention and Federal Republic law.

This work, which has already been reviewed by parliamentarians and ministers, contains valuable material and at the same time an interesting discussion on the task which faces this country's legislature, namely to decide on an amendment to the clauses of the Penal Code dealing with the term of limitation before the end of 1969.

After presenting the aims and faults of the UN convention, there follows a review of the term of limitation with a historical introduction, as it applies in this country, proposed amendments to the term of limitation, and the relevant laws governing war crimes and crimes against humanity in the Soviet Zone.

In addition, this study deals with the question of the advisability of an amendment to the current legislation in view of Articles 20 paragraph 3, 25 and 103 paragraphs 2 and 3 of Basic Law.

In an additional chapter the author expresses his views on whether the term of limitation for an accessory to murder should be treated differently according to the amendment to Paragraph 50, section 2 of the Penal Code. He gives a negative answer to this question in agreement with the Minister of Justice's press announcement on 10 January this year.

A twenty-page appendix quoting source material makes it easier for the reader to get his bearings and to understand this instructive and precise investigation, for which the author should be thanked — not least because of his utterly balanced, impartial attitude.

Bruno Songabend
Frankfurt, Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 24 March 1969

THE PRESS

Is 'National-Zeitung' ban move a case of Ministry sour grapes?



At least since the party was banned in the autumn of 1964 National Democratic Party (NPD) supporters and voters know what demands this country's honour and conscience. Right-wing radicals thank not only their own number but also a new version of Nazi publicity for the fact that this ban on "national politics and uprightness" (Adolf von Thadden still exists).

Since the early days of the Federal Republic all kinds of tracts, weekly and monthly magazines have opposed the "edict of re-education... reparations and gifts of armaments... they should not be intended to extract mil-

lions of Marks worth of compensation from our people" (NPD manifesto).

The National-Zeitung published by Gerhard Frey in Munich led the nationalist press and constantly provoked protests, prosecutions and other court actions. Its aggressive slogans, threats of material and outspoken headlines revealed sublimations but unjustifiable anti-Semitism.

Now the Federal government — still undecided about proceedings to ban the NPD — has decided to take a step into the unknown. For the first time, backed up by Article 18 of Basic Law, a publisher is to forfeit freedom of expression. The appropriate application has been lodged with the Federal Constitutional Court; this means that legal argument about extremism in the Federal Republic can be reopened.

But the government is opening battle in the wrong way. Up to now it has regarded the NPD as the most dangerous, right-wing opponent of this country's liberal, democratic order, and has contemplated taking legal action chiefly against the organised right-wing party. But by quickly deciding to limit Frey's freedom considerably, whilst deliberately still further about the action against the NPD, the attack on the National-Zeitung begins to look like a substitute move.

'Neues Deutschland' not for export, Ulbricht snorts

Newspapers and magazines from the Soviet Zone will continue to be available to people in this country, without legal restrictions, until 31 March 1971. The Bundesrat has unanimously approved the relevant amendment. Originally, newspapers from the Soviet Zone could only be purchased until 31 March this year.

However pleasing this decision may be, it has found no echo in East Berlin. When the Bundesrat decided on 1 August last year after two weeks of deliberations to allow the supply of Soviet Zone newspapers it emerged that the Socialist Unity Party (SED) authorities in East Berlin had not the slightest interest in exporting their publications to the Federal Republic.

The immediate excuse was, "At present the number of copies published cannot be increased." Then the important question was, "The SED newspaper *Neues Deutschland* is not an export commodity." What a pity, because according to a public opinion poll 32 per cent of the Federal citizens asked said they would be interested to read Soviet Zone newspapers.

As 70 per cent of the population have never set eyes on a Soviet Zone newspaper, the SED would have had an opportunity to present its much-cited peaceful policy directly to Federal Republic readers. Instead of which SED newspapers remained in short supply. So in West Berlin it was decided that the newspapers should at least be available in public libraries.

This reserve can only be explained by the fact that the SED is afraid that the vulgar tone of its publications would put off many a Federal Republic reader. Lying propaganda would also be brought to light. SED editors are not exactly sticklers for the truth. Nonetheless the supply of local newspapers might help to establish certain shattered human relations.

But this does not fit in with the SED's two-state thesis. There is no question of an exchange of newspapers between the Soviet Zone and the Federal Republic. SED boss Walter Ulbricht does not want "the imperialist, expansionist policy of the West German Federal Republic to be propagated in the German Democratic Republic in any form." This he proclaims "in the name of freedom of the press in the German Democratic Republic" — which has its funny side.

Minister of the Interior Ernst Benda has not based the application against Frey on specific reports, commentaries or headlines but on the "overall image" of

New Communist weekly 'Unsere Zeit' tries the soft sell

Even before the first issue appeared at the beginning of April the publication through which the Federal Republic Communist Party (DKP) hopes to communicate with the general public had acquired a nickname: "IZ" (*Unsere Zeit*) is bluntly but effectively translated as *Ulbricht's Zeitung* (Ulbricht's newspaper).

But the make-up and style of the journalistic products of the communist brothers are poles apart. There is none of the usual boredom of the communist press in this weekly journal; 40-year-old editor-in-chief Gerd Daumlich says it is to be a real popular newspaper.

Cover-girl refused contract

It will not be polemical but will have plenty of bite, the purpose of IZ is to help the working population achieve decisive influence on the state and the economy. Those who care to read the newspaper learn that ice-skating champion Gaby Seyler, the cover-girl on the first issue, renounced two million Marks for a revue contract in order to take her (soon to be) German Democratic Republic, to study and then work as a sports leader.

The sixteen pages contain articles claiming that the Volkswagen shark is showing its teeth, that the Federal Republic Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry is transforming individual industrial production groups into a centrally directed private army, that five thousand Thyssen workers are utterly fed up because they fear that the firm's sell-out of its true interests will be their

the National-Zeitung which, according to Benda's comprehensive examination, constantly misuses freedom of expression "in order to combat the free democratic basic order" — as Article 18 of Basic Law puts it.

Even though the Constitutional Court judges may find this question easy to deal with, deciding the proceedings they will primarily have to examine Article 4 (freedom of religion and of conscience) and Article 12 (freedom of employment) in the light of Article 18.

If Frey were forbidden to write or if the National-Zeitung were liquidated, this would create a precedent which could set off an avalanche of court cases. Admittedly there is no compelling legal reason why the Federal government should initiate proceedings to prohibit other publications.

But there are newspapers — like the NPD multiple-*Deutsche Nachrichten* — which do not conduct the battle against democracy so blatantly, but which are just as committed. In addition this possibility not only applies to right-wing publications but also to extreme left-wing tracts.

Moreover no one can prevent readers of the National-Zeitung from finding a substitute for the forbidden newspaper — for example Von Thadden's party platform. The cabinet's swift decision probably indicates that it could not devise a reasonable alternative to the application for a ban.

The Cabinet could have insisted that Paragraph 130 of the Penal Code should be amended so that it also makes incitement against another race a criminal offence. This alternative solution could have been especially helpful as no one knows what will happen if Frey is acquitted by the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe and returns to Munich.

Michael Bartel
Frankfurt, Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 23 March 1969

Catholic weekly goes the way of all newsprint

Hannoversche Presse

The Catholic weekly *Das Wort* has ceased publication. At first glance this is not a shining announcement — but a kind of subdued revolutionary development which is rapidly changing the centuries-old, rigid image of the Catholic church lies behind this move.

Das Wort was one of those Catholic publications which had its roots in the Adenauer era, that is at a time when Christian Democratic Union (CDU) policy and Church announcements were largely identical. So for years *Das Wort* led a strict CDU line and only recently, roughly since the formation of the Grand Coalition, has the newspaper dropped conservatism.

But it was already too late: like the pro-CDU, right-wing Catholic publication *Echo der Zeit*, *Das Wort* got entangled in the confusion of social changes which have always hindered the familiar image of politically organised churches.

Nowadays there can be no question of a Catholic bloc which votes en masse at elections. All election results indicate that a growing number of Catholics — even in the backwoods of Bavaria — vote purely according to political convictions.

The climate within the Church has also changed considerably. Pronouncements from the pulpit in the form of party programmes are first as much a thing of the past as pastoral letters with a distinct party political bias.

Today it is not unusual for Catholic theologians to be strongly critical of the CDU and the Christian Social Union (CSU) and to recommend that the word "Christian" should be dropped from the party labels.

And a generation of theologians is being trained at universities and seminaries which is evidently not inclined to political abstinence, but on the other hand realises that a modern Church must adopt a social standpoint independent of all political parties if it is to be a credible institution.

Against this background, it becomes clear why Catholic bishops in the Federal Republic have established a new magazine (initial capital 15 million Marks). *Publik* is to bring new emphases to the Catholic press, one could say left-wing emphases which have never typified any church publications to date — but, apparently in the opinion of the Catholic bishops, emphases more in tune with an awakening in the Catholic church than with political one-sidedness.

However it seems that this praiseworthy attempt to at last open up doors on all sides has not exactly been crowned with success. The trend of developments has continued and it looks as if it cannot be halted even by such well-meaning projects as *Publik*.

As for as newspapers are concerned, thinking Catholics do not read principally as Catholics but in conformity with the general consumer market. A newspaper which is published officially at semi-officially arouses suspicion. To this extent the Catholic bishops who publish *Publik* are not a recommendation but a handicap.

But again this indicates the marked transformation which the Catholic church is undergoing at present. Some church leaders may regret that the closed Catholic front on social issues is disintegrating. But this presents an opportunity for the future of the Church itself.

Hans Freier
Frankfurt, Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 25 March 1969

Must the Mediterranean become a Red sea?

Wolfgang Höpker: *Wie rot ist das Mittelmeer?* (How red is the Mediterranean?) published by Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart, 164 pages, 9.80 Marks.

In 1961 Wolfgang Höpker published a book entitled *Das Mittelmeer — ein Meer der Entscheidungen* (The Mediterranean — a sea of decisions). In this book he prophesied that the Soviet Union would try to get a naval foothold in the Mediterranean so as to cover Europe's southern flank.

What sounded like ominous croaking at that time has long since become reality. In his latest book this well-known journalist does not discuss whether the Russians have military influence in the Mediterranean but how great this influence has become.

The conclusion is gloomy. Ten years ago thanks to the solitary prowess of the American Sixth Fleet, the Mediterranean could without exaggeration be called the "mare americanum." Today there are at least fifty Russian warships in the Mediterranean; admittedly there are still more American ships but the

American fleet no longer has a monopoly. America must reckon with a Soviet counter-attack in the event of naval action.

But Russian influence in the Mediterranean does not only depend on the Soviet fleet. Moscow can also list to its credit increasing political power in the area. Since the Israeli-Arab war the Soviet Union has been the declared protector of the Arab nations and to a large extent controls the whole of the North African coast.

Russian influence on the Mediterranean islands, particularly on Malta and Cyprus, is increasing. And in various ways the Russian position is being strengthened in southern Europe, especially in Italy, Spain and Turkey.

All this is backed up by pertinent maps and briefly and objectively discussed in this slim volume. For the people of this country whose fears of the East tend to concentrate on events in Prague and Berlin at present, this book is particularly valuable because it could help to overcome dangerous continental prejudices.

Peter Gräbe
Die Zeit, 21 March 1969

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ART

HAP Grieshaber retrospective at Bochum municipal gallery

The public menace has become an honorary citizen. The partisan from the Aachen has conquered the art galleries of the world. The Bochum Municipal Art Gallery honoured HAP Grieshaber on his sixtieth birthday with a vast exhibition of his works. This collection has now been taken over by the Stuttgart Kunstverein which has added to it, making it even more representative.

It is, in fact, what is not usually found in the vocabulary of this Florian Geyer of the moderns, truly representative. Stuttgart has rarely assembled such a singular retrospective. The last major exhibition was of Bouheus works.

This great retrospective is devoted entirely to HAP Grieshaber who himself admits that the time has come to do himself full justice in a comprehensive exhibition of his works. The hour has come, which Grieshaber may even regard as the "flower clock" from the Reutlingen Sturmbock in its timeless cycle.

The excellent catalogue contains 200 illustrations, of which six represent woodcuts made specially for this exhibition. Also excerpts from speeches and many



prologues commentaries. This is not just any catalogue, it will have relevance as a publication beyond the temporal and physical limits of the exhibition.

This book, which aims at illuminating the sources of Grieshaber's genius by way of comparison, was edited by Grieshaber himself. It was published, as always in the case of such ambitious projects, by Contz in Cannstatt. This catalogue has autobiographical character. It goes beyond the mere informative. It goes beyond the mere informative. It goes beyond the mere informative.

Grieshaber had an almost shy admiration for Boumester, whose drawings are experiencing a late renaissance in the Municipal Gallery next door. HAP is not, however, so enclosed in the secret rules of his art as Boumester seems at times to have been. He is closer to his object, he is concerned with the expansion of his illustrative means and energies.

HAP Grieshaber contributed early to the Reutlingen pamphlets *angriffs* (attacks) dictatorship wherever it showed its head. Now as then he protests and provokes. All around the dome-shaped exhibition hall he unfolds an improvised banners, like mural newspapers, a panorama of student demonstrations. In the midst of these hang the posters which represent not only functional graphic work but declarations in the name of freedom, angry appeals against corrupt righteousness.

Wilhelm Boeck, Grieshaber's first biographer, has a few things to say about this. In the preface to the catalogue he says that it was characteristic of HAP to protest, but that his protest was never an end in itself, was "a destroyer of artistic substance".

Although Grieshaber has always been a Jacobin at heart, he tempers his revolutionary instinct with the spirit of concavity, achieving a balance between the two. His art in its tough vitality and energy is a proof of this.

The last thing Grieshaber seeks in his art is an aesthetic ideal. He is a political moralist and to some extent a romantic. To find the roots of his art — and this is the great opportunity in Stuttgart — it must be understood why and how he chose to make, as it were, a detour via wood.

Like so many painters Grieshaber can write wonderfully — naturally, unobtrusively.

ed by reflection, lucidly and spontaneously. Writing of his work he says, "The artist with his knife is like the farmer with his plough, the gardener with his spade, the butcher with his cleaver — each is limited by the rules of his craft. These rules permit no limitless, irresponsible adventures. They are nature's system of correction."

Grieshaber still has the blade which he once cut himself from aplog atel in a machine factory. No aspect of wood is safe from him, neither pear tree nor the long-grained, smooth wood of the walnut, which to his annoyance is used in the manufacture of lethal weapons.

He remembers the day when a storm falling on iron-hord pieces of ash at his last. From the resistance of the material spring the challenge and the determination to master it by giving it form. Where the material comes from — doors, bed frames, planes, barns — is not very important. In this respect, Grieshaber is insatiable.

It seems to be a law that any artist who wants to create in his own right must pass through all the phases and forms which others have created before him. Grieshaber has enormous respect for Gothic wood-engraving, and also for printers. At the beginning of the exhibition he expresses his reverence for Gutenberg.

Grieshaber favours stark outlines within which he feels his way with colour which, when introduced later, is always contained, never overlaps. It is no stain on Grieshaber's reputation to say he is not an impressionist. He is essentially a colour artist. Indeed, recalling his *Ulfen* Tach, he may be said to be a colourist artist.

The viallar leaves this retrospective with the impression of unshakable, stubborn energy progressing consistently from one level to the next, almost progressing, never lapsing. HAP Grieshaber can brush aside the suggestion that perhaps there is too much of him to see, that the eye tires of him. Even before the phrase was coined Grieshaber was pursuing an *ars mullti-*



"A 16 III" (1968) by HAP Grieshaber

(Photo: Katalog)

pilcoin. Why shouldn't he look in a hundred different directions? Dürer did — of a time when prices were low and there were no commissions.

Grieshaber begins on a simple scale with black figures. He admits much white which is not empty space, however, but a way of finding the appropriate rectangular dimensions for the self-contained picture. He achieves internal movement in the figure.

Gradually, his dimensions grow, in black and white and colour. Deciding between black and white and colour occupied the artist until his *Boeler Tolentanz*, but the decision had really been made before then. He treated woodcuts with multi-coloured prints. Still fascinated by colour, he developed a carefully graded colour scale.

This can be admired to the full at the Stuttgart exhibition. His *Amalsche Landacht* is set off by a magical hint-blue-yellow. His *Herbst* has the quality of full-bodied wine.

Soon single works no longer satisfied him. The cycles began to appear — the *Reutlingen Sturmbock* as an arched frieze; the *Rhein*; the *Männerveld*. Then apnom-

ed the *Holzstockwond*, a theme with many implications.

In the old hall of the Stuttgart Kunstverein these cycles, unframed and arranged according to subject, surround the central screens with their framed pictures. These are hung in a way that should please Grieshaber with plenty of space to move about in.

Two themes, *Herbst* and *Boerlone*, appear in two versions — in the splendour of colour and in the strictest economy of presentation. They are hung in a way that the eye, comparing them, traverses the whole room, is activated, in other words.

The arrangement in fact suggested itself. The pictures lead on to the pictures. The early works go on in the vestibule and side-rooms. Everything is graded, also in the glass hall where the prints are laid out.

Direction, dramatic direction almost, is avoided in this arrangement which documents the life and development of the artist. It is an exposition born by an internal scheme of things.

Rikhard Medzyanski
(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 21 March 1969)

Past, present and history is mounted here all at once.

Probably we have no real conception of how bitterly these young Americans resent the war, how passionately they join issue with those who are waging it. Westermann's *American Nudes* and James Gills' pin-up girls are all part of this mood. The more one sees of this American art the more one feels that it diagnoses death.

This is art free of ballast and bloc. Very fine sculptures are to be seen in Cologne by Robert Creneau who showed his truncated, painted wooden sculptures at the Venice biennale. These are roundly plastic figures on beds (*Bed* and *Shaped Where*), a standing Jockey — all partially sawn-through, disected. Beside these his painted dolls of wood and cloth in colourful chitra seem almost harmless.

These too, however, seem to withdraw somehow from reality. In a sense they confront sharply with display dummies which they seem to resemble at first glance.

Andy Warhol printed *Saturday Disaster* — a photograph of a car accident, twice superimposed. Marilyn Monroe, shown three times in three rows, in different colours, is not only stylized by colour but also by repetition, by establishing and re-establishing the fact.

Robert Nelson sees perversion and rage in the soldier with the dog's head, with coil and oymbolic snake, with tumorous neon rings. Beside him a huge insect with a death's head. His *Dead rogers* is a military jumping jack on wheels with rockets as wings, with astronaut's helmet, with stars and stripes on his trousers.

Doris Schmidt
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 March 1969)

OBITUARY

Ernst Deutsch, glowing actor of the soul, dies aged 78

Ernst Deutsch, the renowned actor, died peacefully of a heart attack, aged 78. Throughout his life — he moved from Prague to Germany before the First World War — he retained the freshness and vitality of youth. He was born of that marvellous spring of talent and genius that flowed in those years.

Deutsch knew Kafka. Werfel was his friend, his close comrade at school, his neighbour during the years of emigration in America. Willy Haas, Max Brnd, Oskar Knoch were his friends from the beginning.

Ernst Deutsch seemed born for friendship and companionship among men. With the stamp of originality on his forehead he was a favourite among women.

He often said that his alter as an actor was born directly under the stars looking down on Hrodéany castles. Originally, he had wanted to become a sports instructor. He was a tennis ace and junior champion in the then Imperial Austrian empire.

He approached the stage with apprehension. Werfel, whose own star was only then rising, urged his friend to try the stage. It was Werfel who introduced Deutsch one night to Berthold Viertel. Deutsch was given an audition on the stage of the Prague Burg Theatre, and Viertel was delighted with him.

The very appearance of this young man seemed somehow coincident with the "zeitgeist" of the time. Expressionism was still a vague movement, struggling to



assert itself. It found articulation in Viertel's world-embracing, acerbic poems. Then came the young Ernst Deutsch who seemed to embody clearly and definitively an intellectual movement that was still in its infancy. Northward Viertel soon summoned Deutsch to Dresden.

In Dresden the new intellectual currents were shimmering. Deutsch arrived just at the right time. The play which was to assert Expressionism as an attack, which was indeed to be the fulfilment of this movement, was waiting for a producer. It seemed to be waiting for this young actor from Prague. This was *Der Sohn* by Walter Hasenclever.

In the midst of the severest winter of the war, Deutsch acted in a private premiere of this thrilling, well constructed drama of disunion. His task began.

When he played the same part shortly after the war in Berlin, Ernst Deutsch moved up overnight on to the contemporary Prometheus of the best actors Europe had to offer. After the Sohn premiere, Max Reinhardt said, "Since yesterday evening everyone in Constantinople also knows who Ernst Deutsch is."

This suggests the great interest in theatre at that time. An actor who had the good fortune to be acclaimed in Berlin, was sure of being acclaimed throughout the world.

Ernst Deutsch did not dispense his great talent. Under Max Reinhardt he appeared in many plays. He played Paul in *Walden's Paul* among the Jews. He was probably the last Dürerist ever seen in Shaw's *The Doctor's Dilemma*.

I saw him at his best with the great Elizabeth Bergner in Glauco's *Amphitryon*. He played a marvellously flexible *Wurm* in *Kabale und Liebe* and was so convincingly at home in the living-room of a GutsMuths society play as he was quipping emotional as Arnold Kramer in Hauptmann's *Michael Kramer*.

Kerr, the critic, gave him the highest praise. In this exalted language Kerr called him a "glowing actor of the soul." This is what Deutsch really was. He had an unmistakable inner glow. Even when he was very human, when he was very much a part of this world, he seemed always to inhabit another, higher world. It may

actor was ever visibly endowed with genius, it was Ernst Deutsch.

Deutsch was forced to leave the country in 1933, to leave the theatre that he had made so splendid. He toured for a while along the borders of Germany, moved then to London where he flourished in the foreign languages. Later, Hollywood failed to appreciate his talents in the way that it promoted the abilities of Kuchner, Brecht and Bassermann.

In Hollywood, Deutsch did not suffer the misfortunes that befall others. His lucky star did not desert him when he was audited from his own language, the instrument of his art. He did not fall to pieces. He waited.

Deutsch returned to Germany soon after the war. He appeared in an early British post-war film, *The Third Man*. He won the actor's award in Pöbst's *Der Prozess* in Venice, at the first post-war biennale.

No one will forget the moment when he appeared again on a Berlin stage. The play was *Danloua Tod*. Deutsch played Robespierre; his friend, Walter Frank, Danton. The entire audience seemed to embrace him when he appeared. A memorable moment!

He played Oedipus in Hofmannsthal's play. His performance in Ode's *Country Girl* was so penetratingly true as to be unique.

Later, Deutsch appeared in Pentzold's *Schleierdanz* for the first time, proving that now he had also made humour, wisdom and prudence his own. These qualities he evinced with great clarity in Hauptmann's *Sommerabend*.

Last year, he appeared in a ghost performance of Schiller's *Professor Bernhardt* in New York. No sooner had he recovered from a heart attack three years ago when he became for his generation the Nathan of Lessing's drama.



Rudolf Pannwitz, the doyen of letters in this country for many years, has died after a long illness. Recalling his character and his work, it seems astonishing and fortunate that both reflect a seemingly irrefragable youthfulness, expressed in his courage and strength to face the whole truth as a man, and, intellectually, that is, in perception, thought and design.

What is truth? That this question cannot be answered convincingly with a delinquent but with deeds is manifest from the life's work, unparalleled in range and quality, of Rudolf Pannwitz.

Leopold Ziegler said of Pannwitz in 1931, "His world is the integral of all

Deutsch made this role his very own. In Stockholm, Moscow, London and many other cities he, Jew and great German actor, made an eloquent and moving appeal for racial comradeship.

Conciliation, the happiness of mankind — to this and he devoted his life as man and actor. He was never unloving. He was a great colleague, a great theatre man who lived for the stage, living his life from one role to the next.

He was happiest when on tour when the day in the theatre never seemed to end and entering a new town was like preparing for a premiere. He lived on the atmosphere surrounding the stage.

Ernst Deutsch appeared in his last premiere only a few weeks ago. Visibly marked by age and illness, he played the part of the waiter in Shaw's *You Can Never Tell*. He was very thin and looked like a saint in evening dress. He was making a visible effort to lose through the premiere without a slip.

Soon afterwards he was admitted to hospital. This severe winter broke through his reserves of strength.

The last weeks of his life Ernst Deutsch spent in his flat in Knebeckstrasse in West Berlin. He was up and around, taking short walks along Kurfürstendamm. The evening before his death he sat, as was his delight, in a cafe watching the people pass by, greeting friends and acquaintances, drinking his favourite.

On Sunday his heart gave out. Death came quickly, taking from us one of Germany's greatest actors. He was one of the few who was big enough to be pleasant, who left a glow behind, who lived life and art to the full and who, nevertheless, always vigorously opposed cruelty and evil.

Rudolf Pannwitz - one of the most original thinkers of our time

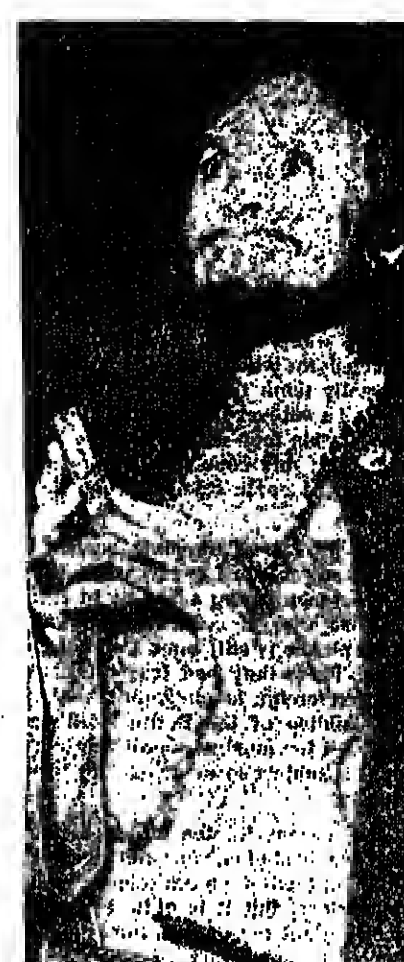
human world, in the mind and in the body." Thus, the Hegelian phrase which Pannwitz liked to quote could serve as a motto for his life and work — "Truth is the whole."

It is this "whole," however, that must first be perceived and experienced, indeed, suffered, before it can be recognised in the work of a scientist or created in the work of an artist.

Nothing characterises Rudolf Pannwitz so much as the fact that in 1909, when he was not yet thirty, he wanted to be both scientist and artist. He recognised then as his aim "to become artist and scientist in their most essential unity." Only then, he argued, can "man as an entire person function in the best interplay of his energies."

Such statements can be regarded as keys to the life and activities of this man. Hugo von Hofmannsthal wrote of Pannwitz in a letter to Rudolf Borchardt in 1918, "I was overwhelmed by the presence of a great mind."

Admittedly, Pannwitz's early resolution to think and feel as an "entire" person seems to have been more the admission and aim of a realisation than the commitment of a man of our sceptical, relativist and nihilist century. His great originality and undeniable greatness spring from the fact that he calmly faced every form of modern scepticism and nihilism to overcome them in his way.



Ernst Deutsch as Nathan the Wise at West Berlin's Schiller-Theater

(Photo: dpa)

This man, it seemed always, was truly the darling of the gods, and those whom the gods love will win the hearts of men. Ernst Deutsch had what is called *charisma*.

Ernst Deutsch will be remembered as a champion of life and love. At the moment of death he seemed suddenly young again, the manly youth with the serenity of a sportive prophet. Thus he will remain.

Friedrich Luff
(DIE WELT, 21 March 1969)

This way could be summed up as a constantly creative homage to the image of man, to everything in man that is turned towards God without ever denying the elements of the earth.

Among Europe's distinguished men of learning, Rudolf Pannwitz — as a "free thinker" in the spirit of Horstmann, Nietzsche and Goethe, whom he admired — placed himself most resolutely and with tireless energy against this century's hydro-headed forms of scepticism and hopelessness. It was this indubitable quality that gave his voice and prose a prophetic ring.

Pannwitz achieved this stature without bending in the slightest degree towards sectarianism. He was a free-ranging, liberal mind. He remained throughout his life receptive to the world and its ways, although essentially he was a recluse.

Rudolf Pannwitz was born in Crossen on the Oder in May 1891. He spent many years in Berlin and a great part of his later life on a Yugoslav island. In 1948, he settled down beside his friend and neighbour Hermann Heese in Teschen.

Today, one can say that it was this intellectually fastidious and worldly tolerant approach that made Rudolf Pannwitz one of the most original, independent and imaginative thinkers of our time.

Hans Hennecke
(DIE WELT, 20 March 1969)

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 24 March 1969

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

New tracking station to beam Munich Olympics worldwide

Starting this summer the Bundespost will be cocking a second giant ear at space. The second communications satellite tracking station at Raisting, thirty miles from Munich, is shortly to be taken into service.

It and the facilities of Munich's TV tower are the Federal Republic postal service's action stations for the 1972 Olympics. This country's tallest TV tower to date and the Raisting satellite tracking station will transmit the thrills and spills of the Olympic Games all over the world.

The Bundespost has provided fascinating on-the-spot insight into the technical difficulties of dealing with telecommunications satellites. The 94-foot diameter bowl of the second Raisting aerial is eleven and a half feet larger than the first and looks altogether different.

The spherical plastic cover of the first aerial is missing from the second. Unencumbered by radomes the big brother is open to the sky and the elements. Should winter frost or ice hamper reception the 664 aluminium segments of the aerial will be electrically heated. In effect Raisting II is one of the largest electric fires in Bavaria.

This costly construction, so engineers at Bundespost telecommunications technology headquarters in Darmstadt believe, is the best way of ensuring maximum-quality reception of satellite signals. In rainy weather the radome (radar dome) covered first aerial has not always delivered the goods. Extremely weak signals are on occasion reflected by the wet,

mirror-like surface of the protective covering, effectively blocking reception.

The power of satellite signals is unimaginably weak — half a billionth of a watt or 0.000000000002 watts.

With the aid of a loudspeaker kept at a temperature of -209 degrees centigrade, only four degrees above absolute zero, by means of liquid helium the feeble signals are registered and conveyed to the actual receiver. The cold makes as great a difference as possible between the signals, a telephone call or television transmission, and the inevitable interference.

The new unit, the aerial of which alone weighs 350 tons, is for the time being to be used to transmit communications across the Atlantic. The Bundespost already has direct links with transmitters at Etna in the United States, Longvillu in Chile and Tangua in Brazil.

The link in all these operations in terrestrial F2, a representative of the third generation of telecommunications satellites.

Their first legendary forerunner in space was Early Bird but unlike Early Bird the latest variety orbit the Earth in 24 hours, appearing to remain stationary above one location at a height of 23,000 miles.

Although the satellites only seem to stand still their orbits are continually checked by computer and the position of orbits is imperceptibly altered. At this distance even minute deviations from the



estimated direction of reception can result in considerable interference.

As an example of the accuracy required post office engineers compared the necessary performance with the reception of lights rays emitted by a one-watt bulb 500 miles away. The new Raisting aerial, it is claimed, is this accurate.

The gigantic telecommunications unit is costing the postal authorities 20 million Marks and is unlikely to pay for itself in the foreseeable future.

The Bundespost transmits phone calls by communications satellite even though this may be more expensive than by conventional means. Subscribers in this country who dial USA are already frequently hooked up via satellite. The connection is made fully automatically.

Telephone calls are sent through space whenever the cables are operating at full capacity. Frankfurt is invariably one of the hubs of this worldwide network. Frankfurters are connected with the United States by operators in the post office skyscraper not far from the city centre.

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
in Düsseldorf, 28 March 1989

Siemens Munich R & D centre,

the largest telecommunications research facility in Europe, is not often the scene of such apparently idyllic goings-on. The research assistant on the left, who might be sipping in a racid booth listening to the latest Beatles' wailing, is in fact wearing special headphones to protect her eardrums from the noise generated by components undergoing breaking-strain tests at up to 10,000 cycles a minute on the oil-cooled oscillation table in front of her. Tests such as these, which subject components to strains of up to 100 times the force of gravity, are essential to ensure that telecommunications components and prototypes, some of which may well be destined for use in communications satellites, are able to withstand the pressures and strains they may encounter during their working life. The oscillator works along the lines of a gigantic loudspeaker.

Die Welt

Optical glass fibre cables for dashboard lights check



Optical glass fibre arranged in cable fashion will soon provide motorists with a continual opportunity of checking, while at the wheel, whether or not headlight reversing lights, brake lights and indicators are functioning properly.

To check whether the tail lights are on a driver has, at the moment, to get out and look. To test the brake lights he even needs a co-driver or the mirror effect of a shop window. He certainly has no opportunity of checking whether all the lights are shipshape and Bristol fashion while actually driving the car.

With the aid of the optical glass cables developed by Jense Glaswerk Schott & Gen. of Mainz motorists can now see at

a glance from the driver's seat how even single light is performing.

The cables, which consist of fifty to 200 hair-thin glass fibres, are connected to the lights. They register not the electric current but the light from the bulb and reflector. This light falls on the polished, uncured cable end and is carried, round corners and all, to the dashboard.

So drivers will soon be able to read off a dashboard dial the light intensity of exterior lights all round their vehicles and this direct link will indirectly represent a tremendous improvement in road safety.

The cable will also make possible the illumination of glove compartment, ashtray, cigarette lighter, ignition and dashboard controls by a single light source.

To protect the glass fibre from damage the cables are sheathed in PVC. They look like electric cables and can be worked with just as easily as a length of wire.

Die Welt, 17 April 1989

ENVIRONMENT

Vertical take-off jets underestimated as answer to problems of aircraft noise

The growing volume of aircraft noise hangs over all our heads, not to mention nerves, like a sword of Damocles. Federal and state transport authorities forecast a tenfold increase in the number of flight movements over the next ten years and legislative action is to be taken to limit noise levels, particularly in the vicinity of airports.

Among the parties concerned, the airport authorities, airlines and nearby residents, there are differences of opinion as to the measures necessary. Above all no one seems to be clear what is to be termed noise and what intolerable noise. Disagreement and misunderstanding were also the order of the day at the Wiesbaden third conference on aircraft noise jointly sponsored by the Noise Abatement Group and the Aircraft Noise Association.

The arguments of lawyers and technicians appear to have nothing in common. This is less likely to be the result of technical harbouring illusions about the possibilities of implementing noise abatement regulations than it is to be a consequence of insufficient awareness on the lawyers' part of the technological and medical criteria.

Munich physicist Professor Werner Burk put the point with unusual clarity in a paper on Aircraft Noise from the Viewpoints of Man and Technology. Noise, he stated, has not only a physical effect but also an information content. It activates man's mental circuits and memory storage units and gives rise to subjective emotional responses that differ from individual to individual.

As an example Professor Burk cited the case of a military aircraft flying between two villages. The runways were at an equal distance and angle to the two villages but the aircraft could only be reached from the one.

As there were 2,000 personnel moved to the one village, which went from strength to strength, while the other village on the far side of the airstrip looked on enviously.

This unequal treatment, as it were, was the basic reason why complaints about the noise of jets taking off and landing made by people from the village that had not benefited were so vociferous that the case eventually went before the highest authorities in Bonn.

The level of perceived noise in both villages was exactly the same but in the one, which lived with the noise, it was

Frankfurter Rundschau
Düsseldorf Tagesspiegel

music in the villagers' ears whereas for the other it represented an intolerable nuisance.

Consequently, Professor Burk stressed, the only valid criterion in judging aircraft noise and its effects must be exact measurements in large numbers. As even these measurements differ, statistical mean levels must be assessed.

Viewed objectively, the mean continuous sound level, taking into account its effects not only the number but also the duration of sounds, would appear to be a suitable basis for assessment.

Heating valves according to age and profession. When noise is concerned there is no such thing as the average person. Commentators who persist in describing noise in terms of black and white would do well to bear this in mind.

Düsseldorf physicist and audiologist Professor Franz-Josef Meisler dealt with psycho-physical factors that are often

overlooked in his paper on the Comparability of Aircraft and Road Traffic Noise.

Many people tend to forget that during the daytime the maximum level of aircraft noise is little more than the noise of traffic on a busy road or railway line. At night, of course, the situation is not quite the same.

Professor Meisler's principal demand was for a subtler approach to the individual noise offenders and offenders. The high pitch of jet engine noise is nonetheless already causing alarm in medical circles.

The most effective way of combating

noise — silencing it at source — is just out of the question even with jet engines, as engineers Schulten and Flemming of Dornier noted. Rolf Royce, they reported, was working on a jet engine that runs more quietly than all conventional turbines even when the engines are going flat out.

In the new Dornier Do 31 vertical take-off jet the latest Rolf Royce engine would cut the maximum sound-level at a distance of one kilometre from 105 to 90 decibels, or nearly a third.

Specialists reckon that the vertical take-off jet has a great future as a quiet

aircraft, so much so that it deserves greater consideration than it is getting. This view is shared by Dr O. Bachor of Entwicklungsring Süd, Munich, who dealt with the noise potential of the VJ 101 C-X, the world's first successful VTOL jet and an aircraft developed in this country.

In the case of both aircraft, which only on the face of it appear to be competitors, aircraft noise is largely limited to the take-off area, only 45 metres square, and the immediate vicinity. The internal noise of the jets affects only the aircraft itself, unless the latest work of a Munich research laboratory involved in experiments to determine the sound-resistance of materials is taken into account.

Here again it is clear that engineers and technicians will be able to solve present and future noise problems provided only that the other parties involved in decision-making appreciate and utilise research developments.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 March 1988)

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